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ABSTRACT

The final report on a behavioral research study conducted in Sacramento, California deals with some aspects of the cultural value systems of the Mexican American secondary and junior high school students in relation to their educational environment as compared to Anglo American students. The investigators attempted to identify areas of conflict common to Mexican American children but not common to Anglo American children of comparable ability and economic background. Utilizing an attitude scale, a word-association test, cumulative file data, and standard statistical analysis techniques with a population of 300 Mexican American and 300 Anglo American boys and girls, it was concluded that there are numerous significant differences between males and females of the 2 subcultures when related to teachers and the educational environment. Additionally, the investigators cited recommendations which they felt would tend to reduce areas of potential cultural conflict within an educational environment involving Mexican American secondary students. (AL)

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SEX ROLE DETERMINANTS IN ATTITUDES TOWARD EDUCATION AMONG MEXICAN-AMERICAN ADOLESCENTS

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Sacramento, California

November, 1967

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We wish to extend our deepest thanks to the Sacramento City Unified School District, Sacramento, California, and particularly to Dr. Donald Hall, Mr. Ulric Morley and Mrs. Evelyn Miles for their complete support in the undertaking of our research. The remarks which are critical of the public education system in its treatment of Mexican-American children should not be taken by the reader as a direct attack upon the school system studied, for they are indicative of practices prevailing nation-wide. Indeed, studies of Mexican-American education show that conditions in California are better than those in most states. Studies of discrimination, as demonstrated by defacto segregation and economic opportunity, indicate that Sacramento, California is better than most locations in its treatment of this group. Therefore, it should be borne in mind that while situation in the schools studied is far from optimal, it is better than most. Discussions with school administrators and teachers indicate that they are well aware that serious problems exist. The eagerness with which they welcomed our research demonstrated their sincere desire to remedy them.

We also wish to thank the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and Sacramento State College for the financial support, facilities, and general assistance which made the undertaking possible.

SUMMARY

Mexican-Americans account for about 6% of the nation's population; and yet they make up 20% of our educational failures. In some areas, the disproportion is even higher. For example, a study in Los Angeles high schools by George Demos showed that 31% of the Mexican-American students (as compared to 19% of the Anglo-American students) dropped out of school before completion of the twelveth grade. Such a disparity can be explained in part by language difficulties and economic deprivation. However, if language ability and income are held constant, there is still a high disparity between Mexican-Americans and the rest of the population in number of school drop-outs. This difference, the authors decided, was probably due to problems arising from inherent contraditions between Mexican and United States culture; for while many of those who are of Mexican descent have lost their cultural heritage or have become integrated successfully into the main stream of the mass society, a very great number have not. That is to say, even if the Mexican-American child overcomes the language handicap and problems of economic deprivation, he cannot be successful or happy in school unless he is able to resolve or neutralize the conflicts in attitudes and values which he faces as a member of an ethnic minority group in a culture significantly different from his own. These conflicts are particularly accentuated because the public school system and the attitudes of the teachers generally are in tune with the values and "geist" of the mass culture.

In this regard, the investigators feel that the teacher plays a very important role. That is to say, a positive attitude toward education and contentment with school (thus less probability of dropping out) is strongly related to the teacher-student relationshop; for the more closely a teacher meets the expectations, preferences and positive values that Mexican-American children have, the less likely the children are to feel hostile toward school and education in general. It is neither feasible nor necessarily desirable to change the Mexican-American's attitudes about the nature of society so that they will be the same as those of the mass culture, but it is possible to select teachers and assign students in a manner compatible with the attitudes held by Mexican-American children once they are known. Thus, we proposed to study those values and attitudes as they relate to the public school.

With this point of view in mind, the investigators set about identifying those areas of conflict common to the Mexican-American child but not common to Anglo children of comparable ability and economic background. Six hundred subjects were selected from the student population of one junior high school and one senior high school in the Sacramento City Unified School District, Sacramento, California. It was

composed as follows: half the students were Mexican-Americans and half were Anglo-Americans not belonging to any identifiable cultural or racial minority groups. There were equal numbers of males and females in each group of subjects and all students were of low socio-economic status as determined by residence patterns. Subjects of the two groups were matched as closely as possible on the criteria of sex, age, and grade in school.

The subjects were administered an "Attitudes Towards Education and Teachers Scale." These sub-groups were drawn from the original sample (totaling 300) according to their performance on the scale. The groups were 1) those students whose scores were most discrepant from students who show high success in school, 2) those whose scores were of median discrepancy, and 3) those whose scores were least discrepant.

The students in these sub-groups were then administered a word association test, a school situation picture test and were observed and interviewed in the school setting. As well, their cumulative files were reviewed. When all test and observational materials had been gathered, they were analyzed using standard procedures. The results were then compared and yielded the following results:

1. An item analysis of the attitude scale revealed that Mexican-Americans differed significantly from Anglos, thus;

Items on the Attitude Scale which Discriminated Best Between Mexican-Americans and Anglos.

Item No.	Item	% Agree M.A.	A.A.	X^2	.P
10	A student should not stop going to school because his clothes are not as good as those of his classmates.	36	15	23.6	<.001
17	It is far more important for a man to get a good education; a woman can always raise a family and do housework.	58.8	45.0	9.8	<.01
20	Teachers do not understand the problems of students.	75.4	59.8	13.8	<.001
21	Even though a student speaks another language at home, he should not do it at school	46.4	61.0	10.9	<.001
22	It is easier for students to obey a man teacher than a woman teacher.	12	10	5.6	<.02
26	One should not question the word of a teacher.	32.1	21.3	7.0	<.01

Item No.	Item	% Agree M.A.	A.A.	X	P
27	Sometimes talking is not enough and you must use your fists to convince someone.	51.4	34.2	15.1	<.001
29	It's good to mix only with people of your own kind.	22.6	13.3	6.8	<.01
42	If anyone insults me because I am different, I fight.	42.9	23.3	21.0	<.001
45	It is hard to take orders from a woman.	41.4	33.3	2.9	<.10
49	It is good for parents to put pressure on their children to get as much education as possible.	76.9	52.3	34.0	<.0001
55	When one has trouble with school work it is a good idea to talk it over with the teacher.	54	53	.1	n.s.
61	It is more important to get a job as soon as it is available, even though you may not have a high school education	25.0	15.4	6.66	<.01

2. The picture tests were scored using the scoring system developed by McClelland et al and modified by Ricciuti and Clark for the T.A.T. This revealed the following:

Comparison of Mean Scores on Succorance, Female Power, Aggression Toward Female Authority Figures and Abasement Obtained by M-A and A-A males on the School Situations Picture Stories Test

	M-A		A-A				
Variable	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Diff.	t.	P
Succorance	1.8	1.65	.3	.62	1.5	4.75	<.001
Female Power	2.53	.98	1.86	.90	.67	.86	n.s.
Aggression Toward Female Figures	1.03	1.0	.17	.47	.86	4.30	<.001
Abasement	.77	.87	.63	.78	.06	.58	n.s.

Comparison of Mean Scores on Infavoidance, Power Struggle with Males and Females and Autonomy (Rebelliousness) Obtained by M-A and A-A females on the School Situations Picture Stories Test

	M-A		A-A				
Variable	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Diff.	t.	P
Power struggle with males	1.23	.36	1.90	1.12	.67	3.0	n.s.
Power struggle with females	1.07	1.0	1.87	.92	.80	1.8	n.s.
Autonomy (Rebelliousness)	2.93	1.5	1.53	1.2	1.40	3.9	<.01
Infavoidance.	.6	.61	.7	.57	.1		n.s.

3. Responses to the word association test were highly variable but showed that Mexican-Americans react very negatively to these stimulus words: school activities, principal and reading.

4. Analysis of cumulative file data and direct observation corroborated the test data and made it possible for us to identify value differences between Anglo and Mexican-American students. In some instances these are differences in kind and in other instances they are differences of degree. They are as follows:

a. The Mexican-American culture teaches the adolescent to be loyal to his family group. This frequently results in subordination of the student's educational goals when the family is in need of his help.

b. Mexican-American culture emphasizes the continued loyalty to the culture. The Mexican-Americans see themselves ~~as united in a spiritual bond~~ as members of La Raza ~~(the~~ race) and are obliged to contribute to the welfare of all of the members even at personal expense. A person who does not conform to the culture's code is considered a traitor.

c. The Mexican-American parent sees himself as an educator in the home. Mother and father, thus, consider learning experiences for the child in the home to be just as valuable as the education he receives at school.

d. The culture emphasizes "machismo" or maleness in the young boy. He learns he must never run away from a fight or break a deal and he must defend his honor whenever it is insulted. The young male student's machismo is sometimes threatended by unsuspecting female teachers who are interested in maintaining their authority in the classroom at all costs.

e. The culture teaches young women to be modest and not to display their bodies in public. This usually creates problems in gym class where students are required to wear shorts to classes and then take a shower with little or no privacy.

f. Mexican-Americans of low socio-economic status feel that education in the public school should be directly related to job training.

g. The culture emphasizes a strict separation of the sex roles. The role of the male is established as the bread winner and the head of the family. The female provides the love and understanding which her children and husband will need. Her role is one of self-sacrifice and abnegation, The cultural valuesto which the Mexican-American school child is exposed

in the school challenge this view. The individual is then forced to make a difficult choice.

h. Mexican-American parents are frequently insulted by the business-like harsh tone frequently used by teachers to communicate with them when they visit schools. This usually results in alienation and, thus, the school is seen as a negative rather than a positive institution.

From our research, we made the following recommendations:

1. There is need to establish more effective lines of communication between parents and school personnel, otherwise we will continue to have both groups working against each other, and the adolescent caught between the demands of both. Schools with large Mexican-American populations should hire Mexican-American personnel who speak Spanish and are aware of both Anglo and Mexican-American values, and respect these values, otherwise, conflicts will continue with the Mexican-American student suffering the consequences.

2. The low scores on need Achievement obtained by Mexican-Americans emphasizes the differences which exist in the cultures of the two ethnic groups. The Mexican-American child learns to operate on a reinforcement system which is far different from that of the Anglo middle class. The Anglo school, then, does not meet the expectations of these children and is ineffective in motivating him. Experimental classrooms in which reinforcers, incentives, and method of administrating these is tailored to the needs of the Mexican-American child should be established.

3. An attempt must be made to eliminate "barrio" schools. Observations made by the authors have led them to conclude that "barrio" schools are conducive to power struggles between school personnel on one hand and students and parents on the other. Both groups are out to acculturate the other and the result is that both become alienated and become more dogmatic about their value systems. Elimination of defacto segregation in an atmosphere of acceptance of cultural diversity does not force the bicultural student to take one extreme route or the other, but to accept both.

4. The purposes and approaches to school counseling should be revised extensively and counselors given training for their job with the ethnically different. Counseling programs for the bi-cultural student geared to help him anticipate those value conflicts which are inevitable should be instituted in our schools. The more understanding a student achieves about his problems, the better he will be able to cope with the conflict and stress when it arises.

It will be necessary then, to establish an accepting, help-

ful environment which will aid the bi-cultural student to achieve an identification within two cultures. In this manner he can select the best of both without having to reject one or the other.

Other recommendations:

5. The Mexican-American student is affected a great deal by his family and any program which will attempt to improve his adjustment to school must make some provision for involving his parents. The Mexican-American student cannot be considered as an entity separate from his family. The data in this direction is so overwhelming that the authors are quite sure that unless attempts are made to involve the parents, no programs aimed at improving the success of the Mexican-American student will be very successful. Help from parents in school work as well as making conditions at home more conducive to study will be necessary. Story after story collected from Mexican-American students revealed that they would become motivated to perform only when their parents agreed with the goals of the schools. Perhaps they need to see these two opposing worlds come together, before they experience a lessening of the conflict which they feel. Once parents and teachers come together and accept each other, the student doesn't feel as if he is forced to choose one over the other.

6. Mexican-American students seem to respond best to teachers who maintain authority in the classroom, but who are at the same time concerned enough to help them and to encourage their parents to become interested in education. They see the ideal solution as that which involves cooperation between teachers and parents to encourage students to do better.

7. Mexican-American students should have more of a voice in the setting up of school activities. Many of them feel that present activities do not reflect their interests as evidenced by results of the word association test.

8. Conflict between Mexican-American students with other ethnic groups which have flared up in the past will continue to occur unless students become aware of value differences in their class mates and are encouraged to respect their values. Lectures, assigned readings in social science classes and group discussions led by conselors should be instituted. Schools should encourage ethnic clubs in which the bi-cultural student can find some identity and at the same time disseminate information about his values to the other students.

9. Materials should be included in the curriculum which reflect the life situations of the lower class and poor.

10. In addition, materials on Mexican-Americans used in the classroom should reflect ethnic reality, not paint a picture of a quaint Ramona, a peon or a "Pancho Villa."

11. Finally, the school system should make a conserted attempt to remove biggoted teachers and administrators from contact with ethnic minorities. It is difficult for students to work under people who feel that they are inferior.

SEX-ROLE DETERMINANTS IN ATTITUDES TOWARD EDUCATION AMONG MEXICAN-AMERICAN ADOLESCENTS

INTRODUCTION

In the last census, people with Spanish surnames numbered about six-percent of the United States population, yet according to the census records, they also account for about twenty percent of all school drop outs in the nation. The median number of years attended in school for the entire group was only eight (as opposed to twelve for the nation as a whole). These statistics become most alarming when one considers that the number of Latins who immigrate and naturalize in the United States is increasing rapidly. Interim census reports indicate an increasement of six-fold since 1960. As well, the conservative nature of the census statistics makes the educational situation of this minority group a major tragedy; for if the people who have Spanish names, but have been adequately assimilated into the mainstream of our culture, were removed (and as such should be counted in the statistics for the mass society) we would likely discover that only four percent of the population of the United States accounts for one-fifth of our educational failures. It is to this condition that the investigators have addressed themselves. In particular, since Mexican-Americans make up the largest number of Latins in our country, we have limited our study to them.

Major factors which contribute to the low educational attainment of Mexican-Americans can be summarized as follows: 1. a persistent bicultural heritage, 2. lack of acceptance by the majority culture, 3. low socio-economic status, 4. isolation into segregated and consequently unassimilated groupings, and 5. the personal and cultural problems arising from the above conditions. (See Marcos de Leon)

The persistence of Mexican culture, inspite of the great problems it creates for the individual in the United States, is truly striking. Throughout the Southwest, in almost every major town and city, Mexican-American communities or barrios are to be found. As well, one is struck by the great number of Spanish language newspapers, comic books, radio stations, farmacias (Mexican type drug stores), churches and so forth. A study by William Altus of an Army special training center revealed that all trainees of Mexican ancestry spoke Spanish, no matter how many generations their ancestors had lived on what is now United States territory. Quite a few were also conversant with Spanish in terms of reading and writing and were up to date on events in Mexico. Some spoke no English whatsoever. The persistence of Mexican culture in a nation where other cultures have been generally assimilated is complex and difficult to explain. In part, it is due to the personal satisfaction that Mexican culture, as a lifeway brings to the individual, even in the face of discrimination, constant revitalization by immigration, and the close proximity of the fatherland. Altus found that many of the

Mexican-Americans in his study crossed the border annually and that one in five of the American-born trainees of Mexican ancestry had lived in Mexico one year or more prior to induction.

The rejection of Mexican culture by the dominant Anglo-American culture of the United States is so well known that it does not warrant a lengthy discussion. Spick, chili bean, greaser, and Pachuco are words well understood and commonly used not only by individuals, but also in novels, movies, television and so forth. It has been shown that the people of Mexican background fair poorly at the hands of the police. For example, they have a high arrest/felony conviction ratio. That is, they are often arrested for felonies for which no evidence is found. (Lement and Rosberg) It is particularly interesting to note in the context of this paper that in a study of 1,700 Anglo university students from the Southwest, Eugene Richards found that students most often checked on a questionaire the following traits as most applicable to people of Mexican background: (they) posses a low moral standard, will steal, are dirty, help to keep wages low and are spreaders of disease. In as much as most Mexican-Americans live in the Southwest the impact of the attitudes listed by their future teachers and employers is particularly damaging.[1]

In part due to the stereotypes most Americans have of the "lazy, sneaky, dirty", etc. Mexican-American (it is certainly obvious that no one wants friends or business associates of the sort described as the Mexican-American norm by the students in the above sample) as well as language barriers, lack of professional skills and poor formal education most of the group are poor. A study by Mittleback and Marshall found that families with Spanish surnames account for ten and a half percent of all "white"[2] families in the Southwest. However, they also found that they account for twenty percent of the poor "white" families in the area. Indeed, they found that almost thirty-five percent of all families with Spanish names in the area are poor as against less than sixteen percent of the Anglos. When these figures were translated from families to individuals, it was found that there are more poor Mexican-Americans than poor Negroes. In view of the fact that Mexican-Americans fare better on the scale of American racial prejudice than do Negroes, we can assume that they are being economically "punished" for being ethnically different. That is to say, Mexican-Americans are disliked and disbarred from participation in the economy because the mass society has interpreted the concept that all men are equal to mean that all men should be the same.

Poverty is a major factor in keeping many Mexican-Americans from improving their education. McDonagh notes that because of his marginal economic existance, the Mexican-American must move from job to job, thus interrupting school attendance and causing a constant change of teachers fro the children. Other common conditions of poverty are illness and poor care, with lower school attendance and ability to perform. Child labor is a necessary condition for the survival of the family and thus creates

a fatalistic attitude to the effect that "even if I go to school, I'll wind up picking fruit anyway." Inadequate sanitary facilities and inability to buy good clothes in a dominant culture which has a fetish for such things and holds the dictum that "dark skin is dirty skin" makes going to school and maintaining one's dignity impossible.

There is considerable attention on the part of the government and educators to the problems of bilingualism, de facto segregation, institutionalized ethnocentrism and economic deprivation, but little attention is being paid to the difficulties arising from cultural marginality and the inherent contradictions between Mexican culture and the dominant culture of the United States. This is extremely unfortunate, for even if the Mexican-American child overcomes the handicap of inadequate language skills, and the problems of economic deprivation, as well as developing a hard skin to cultural bigotry on the part of the dominant culture, he cannot be happy or successful in school unless he is able to resolve or neutralize the conflicts in attitudes and values which he faces as a member of an ethnic minority in a significantly different dominant culture. This he cannot do alone, for he is asked to cope with problems of adjustment in an institution critical to his future (that is, school) at a time in the development of his mental abilities and personality coping mechanisms when he is least able to do so. In the words of Ralph Guzman, "professional concern with what may be injurous to the psyche of a Mexican-American child is just beginning to develop. The one-way concept of teaching to children without learning from children precludes deeper understanding of the phenomena of gradual withdrawl that minority youngsters exhibit as they grow older".

The school system itself is geared to the needs, objectives and values of the middle class in American society. Teachers, like the majority of college educated people, come from this class and see others through its particular cultural "glasses". Life situations in readers, texts and instruction reflect the middle class way of life. The public schools expect children to behave according to middle class values and norms - indeed, being a good child means exactly that. The home of the Mexican-American is centered around both the culture of poverty and the core values of Latin culture. Thus the buen hijo at home becomes the problem child at school and visa versa when the world view of the two are different. For example, American middle class culture stresses that man can control his destiny and the universe, social worth is measurable in terms of material well -being, parents are friends who are fallible, individual initiative is rewarded and so forth while traditional Latin culture teaches that one should adjust to the conditions of life, one can seldom change the nature of his fate, women are inferior to men, the well-being of the family is more important than the advancement of the individual, one cannot judge a man's worth by his material possessions,etc. (see Madsen, Clark and Cabrera)

It is neither feasible nor really desirable to attempt re-socializing the Mexican-American child so that he conforms to the ideology of the dominant culture. It is not feasible because it would take years of intensive work by psychological experts to make lasting changes in the child under optimal conditions (i.e. removing him from the influences of Latin culture). In addition, rapid culture change is often exceedingly stressful to the individual. It is not really desirable, for one is hard pressed to demonstrate that middle class values are always superior to Mexican ones. The role of educators in helping the Mexican-American child is not to change his cultural identification (no matter how strongly identified with the dominant culture the educator might be), but rather to aid him in accomodating the dominant culture and adjusting to its demands once the areas of conflict are clearly defined.

A study by George Demos assessed and compared attitudes toward education held by Mexican-American and Anglo-American students. This study was particularly meaningful because it controlled for the effects of socioeconomic class, intelligence, age, grade and sex. The resuts of his research revealed that there were considerable differences in attitudes expressed by members of the two ethnic groups. In addition, it was found that the Mexican-Americans expressed attitudes toward the school system and the school personnel that were less positive than those expressed by Anglos. Specifically, the Mexican-Americans expressed attitudes which were significantly less positive than those of the Anglos on the following items of the Demos Drop-out Scale: 1. presence of teacher understanding, 2. importance of an elementary education, 3. staff's concern about students, 4. desirability of belonging to a gang, 5. desirability of dropping out of school and 6. the importance of good attendance. Demos concluded that these six significant differences are a result of Mexican-American ethnic group membership. The results of this study are rather important to understanding etiological factors of negative attitudes toward education in Mexican-Americans. The previous findings available in the literature had been contradictory. Some researchers had concluded that the negative attitudes of the Mexican-American were due to conflicts between the values of his ethnic group and those of the school system; while others had suggested that the attitudes of the Mexican-American student are not different from those of Anglo students of similar socio-economic backgrounds. This latter argument had gained more support recently because of the findings of Oscar Lewis' studies with Puerto Ricans and Mexicans living in the slums of Mexico City, New York, and San Juan. Arguing the case for a culture of poverty, Lewis states that many values which have been attributed to mebership in certain ethnic and racial groups are really the end result of living in poverty. Demos' study, however, was able to show that when effects of socio-economic class are controlled, Mexican-Americans in the United States still hold certain attitudes toward education which are probably a product of being a member of a distinct ethnic minority.

The present study, therefore, attempts to identify those values of the economically poor Mexican-American student which may be in conflict with the values of the students and school personnel and thus, may be leading to the negative attitudes held by these students. By identifying groups of Mexican-American and Anglo-American students (matched in socio-economic class, age grade and sex), who express positive attitudes, negative attitudes and attitudes which are halfway in between those of the positive and negative groups, we hoped to identify various value conflicts experienced by the Mexican-American student as he attempts to live up to the demands of the Anglo middle class social system.

HYPOTHESIS

In accordance with the foregoing discussion the authors made the following predictions:

1. Due to their high "drop out" rate and cultural differences, Mexican-American students would express attitudes deemed as less favorable by the dominant culture than Anglo-American students on an attitudes towards teachers and education scale and a word association test.

2. The School Situations Picture Story Technique would reflect cultural differences between the two groups. Mexican-Americans would score higher on need Power (because their culture emphasizes dominance and submission in interpersonal relationships) and need Rejection (because of frustration and unhappiness in school, they not only feel rejected, but also reject the school system and seek to escape it.) For the same reason they would score lower on need Affiliation. Mexican-Americans would also score lower on need Achievement (because they experience frustration and receive few rewards).

3. Poor Mexican-American males will have a great need for succorance in as much as they often seem to have difficulty in superseding the maternal stage due to an absent or aloof father figure (Diaz-Guerrero and Lewis). They will tend to see female authority figures as trying to control them (Diaz-Guerrero and Madsen describe the attempt by the mother to keep the male adolescent dependent on her even though the culture demands that he be a man). They will be likely to express hostility toward female authority figures (because of their rebellion against mother domination in their attempt to live up to the male role) and will score higher on need Abasement (because the culture also requires that they be submissive to the demands of authority figures). Mexican-American males will, thus, present a paradoxical picture. At times they will appear hostile and aggressive while still on other occasions they will show a need for help and support and react positively to the demands of authority figures.

4. Mexican-American females will express more need Autonomy or Rebellion (Madsen and Diaz-Guerrero have mentioned that females feel resentful because of the rigorous and restrictive premises of their cultural roles) more power struggles with males and females (due to the power gap being left by the decreasing authority of the male) and more evidence of need Infavoidance or fear of failure (because of the rigorous demands of her role as stated by Diaz-Guerrero and Madsen.)

5. The low adjustment sub-groups of the Mexican-American and Anglo-American ethnic groups will score higher on need Rejection and lower on need Achievement, and Affiliation than either the high or middle adjustment sub-groups.

METHODOLOGY

Subjects:

Six hundred subjects were selected from the student population of one junior high school and one high school in the Sacramento City Unified School District, Sacramento, California. It was composed as follows: half the students were Mexican-Americans and half were Anglo-Americans not belonging to any identifiable cultural or racial minority groups. There were equal numbers of males and females in each group of subjects and all students were of low socio-economic status as determined by residence patterns.[3] Subjects of the two groups were matched as closely as possible on the criteria of sex, age, and grade in school.

Attitudes Toward Teachers and Education:

All six hundred subjects were administered an attitude scale comprised of sixty-two items pertinent to the teacher-student relationship and education in general. Some of the items were composed by the investigators after having reviewed a number of attitude questionaires, others were drawn from the Demos Drop-out Scale.[4] (Demos, 1963) Agreement or disagreement with each item could be expressed on a seven point scale ranging from "I agree very much" to "I disagree completely". The following is a list of the items in the order in which they appeared on the questionnaire:

1. I like teachers who lecture better than those who have us make oral reports.
2. One should have a good time even if there is school work to be done.
3. It is necessary for one to have a high school education.
4. My classmates pick on me because I am different.
5. Finishing the eighth grade should be done by everyone.
6. If one is having trouble at school, it might be best to leave and get a job.
7. A student who is a nuisance in school should be sent to the principal's office.
8. Teachers care about their students.
9. It is a good thing to be in a gang while in school.
10. A student should not stop going to school; just because his clothes aren't as good as those of his classmates.
11. It is good to take part in class discussion as much as possible.
12. My parents help me with my school work.
13. I would prefer to stay in school and graduate even if I were offered a good job tomorrow.
14. All rules at school must be strictly obeyed.

15. Students are not prepared to make decisions about what they should study. People with experience should do the choosing.
16. Teachers want parents to visit the school often.
17. It is far more important for a man to get a good education, a woman can always raise a family and do housework.
18. It is important to earn good grades in school.
19. Students are very unfriendly to me in school.
20. Teachers do not understand the problems of students.
21. Even though a student speaks another language at home, he should not do it at school.
22. It is easier for students to obey a man teacher than a woman teacher.
23. It is important to finish the tenth grade.
24. I would enjoy being a class officer.
25. It is worth the time, money and effort to get a college education.
26. One should not question the word of a teacher.
27. Sometimes talking is not enough and you must use your fists to convince someone.
28. Students should start preparing for college as early as possible.
29. It's good to mix only with people of your own kind.
30. Teachers are not fair when they give grades.
31. What I learn in school will help me even if I don't go to college.
32. It is not good to fight on the school grounds, but a person must be ready to defend his honor anywhere.
33. It is alright to let a friend copy your homework.
34. Teachers give most of their help and attention to good students.
35. It is worthwhile to drop out and get a job.
36. The best way to learn something is to talk it over with the teacher.
37. Activities in school aren't much fun; one group of kids runs things and the others can't do much.
38. One must live for today, who knows what tomorrow may bring.
39. The Principal and Vice-Principal usually help the students.
40. A student should always be willing to do extra work.
41. It is easier for students to obey an older teacher than a young teacher.
42. If anyone insults me because I am different, I fight.
43. School should be more realistic and prepare students for a job.
44. I prefer teachers who tell me what to do and see that I do it.
45. It is hard to take orders from a woman.
46. It is worthwhile to have good attendance in all classes.
47. Students should pay good attention to the teacher and not miss classes.

48. It is worthwhile for students to take part in school activities.
49. It is good for parents to put pressure on their children to get as much education as possible.
50. Counselors can help students a lot when they have problems.
51. Teachers usually pick on certain students.
52. Teachers just won't listen to excuses for being late.
53. All students should try to become school leaders.
54. School subjects are very interesting.
55. When one has trouble with school work, it is a good idea to talk it over with the teachers.
56. It is just as important to have a good time in school as it is to study and learn.
57. Teachers are too hard when they punish students.
58. It is worthwhile to work hard and become interested in every school course one takes.
59. A teacher's word should be law in the classroom.
60. It is more important to do well in sports than in the classroom.
61. It is more important to get a job as soon as it is available, even though you may not have a high school education
62. It is important to earn good grades in school.

Intensive Study Sample:

From the original group of six hundred subjects, a smaller sample of one hundred and twenty was selected for futher study using the scores on the attitude scale as the criteria for selection. Sixty subjects from each ethnic group were drawn. Twenty of these in each group had scored high on the attitude scale (i.e. enjoyed the school environment, so far as could be ascertained by the scale), twenty in each group had scores close to the mean of their respective group, and the remaining twenty subjects per sample had low scores (ergo showed a dislike for the school situation). Half of each of these sub-groups of twenty were male and half female. As well, half of each of these males and females in each sub-group were from high school and half from junior high school. There were twenty-four ethnic-sex-grade-adjustment level sub-groups in all, i.e. Mexican-American males, junior high school, dissatisfied; Anglo-American females, high school, median attitude etc.

School Situations Picture Stories Test:

All one hundred and twenty subjects selected for intensive study were administered a set of ten pictures depicting students, teachers and parents interacting in settings which were related to school or to education in some way. The test was given to the subjects individually by an examiner who gave the following instructions:

"I have a series of cards with pictures on them. I will show the cards one-by-one and I would like you to tell me a story to each one. Tell me what is happening in each picture. What led up to the action (that is, what happened in the past?) What is wanted? By whom? What will happen in the end?"

Four sets of pictures were constructed - Mexican-American female and male sets and Anglo-American male and female sets. This was done to make identification according to sex and ethnic affiliation easier for the subjects. The content of the pictures was as follows:

1. Male student sitting at a desk staring at some papers and a book.
2. Two students, one Mexican-American and one Anglo (either playing basketball males set or standing by the lockers in female set).
3. Younger female teacher interacting with a student (Mexican-American or Anglo, male or female depending on the set).
4. Student (male or female depending on set) leaving home with books in hand and older male sitting at a table in the background.
5. Younger male teacher looking at a student (Mexican-American or Anglo, male or female depending on set).
6. Older female teacher interacting with a student (Mexican-American or Anglo, male or female depending on set).
7. Young male (Mexican-American or Anglo depending on set) holding a rake; a college scene is in the background
8. Male student(Mexican-American or Anglo depending on set) staring at a female student (Mexican-American for Anglo set and Anglo for Mexican-American set) walking by him.
9. Older male teacher facing a male student (Mexican-American or Anglo, male or female depending on set).
10. Student (male or female depending on set) sitting at a desk with older female standing at the door and looking into the room.

The stories were scored for need Power, Achievement and Affiliation using the scoring system developed by McClelland et. al. and modified by Ricciuti and Clark. The scoring technique used for need Rejection was similar to that of the other three needs. The definition for needs used were those given by Murray.

The stories of all male subjects were scored for succorrance (as defined by Murray), mother power (i.e. attempts on the part of women to control the subject), and aggression towards female authority (i.e. expressions of resentfulness or physical aggression against female authority figures).

ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Male student sitting at a desk staring at some papers and a book. Mexican-American set. Anglo set.
2. Female student sitting at a desk staring at some papers and a book. Mexican-American set. Anglo set.
3. Two boys, one Mexican-American and one Anglo playing basketball. Mexican-American set. Anglo set.
4. Two females standing by open locker, one Anglo and one Mexican-American. Mexican-American set. Anglo set.
5. Younger female teacher looking at Mexican-American boy. Mexican-American set.
6. Younger female teacher looking at Mexican-American girl. Mexican-American set.
7. Young Mexican-American boy leaving home with books in hand. Older male in background at table. Mexican-American set.
8. Young Anglo female leaving home with books in hand. Older male in background at table. Anglo set.
9. Younger male teacher looking at Anglo boy. Anglo set.
10. Younger male teacher looking at Mexican-American girl. Mexican-American set.
11. Older female teacher looking at Anglo boy. Anglo set.
12. Older female teacher looking at Mexican-American girl. Mexican-American set.
13. Young male Mexican holding a rake, college in background. Mexican-American set.
14. Young male, Anglo, looking at young female student. Anglo set.
15. Older male teacher interacting with Anglo boy. Anglo set.
16. Older male teacher interacting with young Mexican-American female. Mexican-American set.
17. Older female looking into room. Student (male) seated at desk. Mexican-American set. Anglo set.
18. Older female looking into room. Female student seated at desk. Mexican-American set. Anglo set.

The female stories were scored for Infavoidance (as defined by Murray), struggle for power with males, struggle for power with females and Autonomy (i.e. rebelliousness against authority). The stories were scored by giving one point if the story contained any imagery or instrumental activity related to the above categories.

Word Association Test:

After the subjects selected for intensive study had given their responses to the picture test, they were presented with sixteen words - one at a time - and encouraged to give as many associations to each word as possible within a thirty-second period. The instructions given to the subjects were as follows:

> "I have a series of cards with some words printed on them. I will turn the cards over one by one and hold them up for thirty seconds. As soon as the card is turned up, read the word printed on it and say out loud as many words as it makes you think of. At the end of 30 seconds I will turn the card face down on the table and go on with the next one. Remember the more words you say in 30 seconds, the better you will do."

The words contained in the list were as follows.

1. schol
2. school activities
3. college
4. woman teacher
5. learning
6. tardiness
7. Mexican
8. flunk
9. math
10. reading
11. suspended
12. man teacher
13. principal
14. homework
15. bookwork
16. American

Cumulative Files:

The cumulative files of the one hundred and twenty students selected for intensive study were reviewed. Information concerning conflicts with any aspect of school life, results from psychological testing, grades, honors and punitive actions, attitudes toward the student and comments by teachers and counselors were recorded for comparison with results gained through our testing procedures.

Direct Observation:

Seven research assistants under the direction of one of the major investigators attended classes, talked with students, administrators, counselors, the school nurses and teachers in informal interviews and observed the general culture of schools during the run of normal day-to-day activity.

Results:

Attitude Scale:

The results obtained from the attitude scale data are summarized in Table 1.

Comparison of Attitude Scale Scores of the Mexican-Americans and Anglo-Americans

Mexican-American		Anglo-American				
Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Difference	t	p
300	3.87	279	2.14	21	4.70	$<.01$

Table 1

Consistent with the first prediction made by the authors the Mexican-Americans expressed attitudes toward school which were less positive. This is reflected by the mean scale score of the group which was significantly lower than that of the Anglo group ($t=4.70<.01$).

The item analysis performed on certain items shows that Mexican-Americans responded less positively to all except items 49 and 55. The results of the Chi Squares performed on these items can be found in Table 2. In addition to these items Mexican-American males tended to agree with items 43 (school should be realistic and prepare students for jobs) and 44 (they prefer teachers who tell them what to do and see that they do it). Junior high males agreed more than any other sub-group with item 34 (teachers give most of their help and attention to good students). Mexican-American females, on the other hand were more in disagreement with item 12 (My parents help me with my schoolwork). and in agreement with item 52 (teachers just won't listen to excuses for being late). (Table 2)

School Situations Picture Stories Test

Summaries of the analyses of variance performed on the data of needs Power, Rejection, Achievement and Affiliation can be found in Tables 3 through 6. The t's for the ethnic group main effect were significant for all the data on Affiliation need. Mexican-Americans had significantly higher Power and Rejection scores, whereas Anglos expressed significantly more need Achievement. The significant ethnic (E) group by sex (Sx) interaction in the Affiliation data indicates that the females of the Mexican-American group scored higher on Affiliation than the Mexican-American males and the reverse was true of

Items on the Attitude Scale which Discriminated Best Between Mexican-Americans and Anglo-Americans.

Item No.	Item	M-A %(agree)	A-A %(agree)	X^2	P
10	A student should not stop going to school because his clothes are not as good as those of his classmates.	36	15	23.6	<.001
17	It is far more important for a man to get a good education, a woman can always raise a family and do housework.	58.8	45.0	9.8	<.01
20	Teachers do not understand the problems of students.	75.4	59.8	13.8	<.001
21	Even though a student speaks another language at home, he should not do it at school.	46.4	61.0	10.9	<.001
22	It is easier for students to obey a man teacher than a woman teacher.	12	10	5.6	<.02
26	One should not question the word of a teacher.	32.1	21.3	7.0	<.01
27	Sometimes talking is not enough and you must use your fists to convince someone.	51.4	34.2	15.1	<.001
29	It's good to mix only with people of your own kind.	22.6	13.3	6.8	<.01
42	If anyone insults me because I am different, I fight.	42.9	23.3	21.0	<.001
45	It is hard to take orders from a woman.	41.4	33.3	2.9	<.10
49	It is good for parents to put pressure on their children to get as much education as possible.	76.9	52.3	34.0	<.0001
55	When one has trouble with school work it is a good idea to talk it over with the teachers.	54	53	.1	not sig.
61	It is more important to get a job as soon as it is available, even though you may not have a high school education	25.0	15.4	6.66	<.01

Table 2

Summary of Analysis of Variance of Need Power Scores of M-A and A-A Groups

Source	df	MS	F	P
Ethnic (E)	1	119.9	4.02	<.05
Grade (G)	1	333.9	11.26	<.005
Within (Error)	97	29.5		

Table 3

Summary of Analysis of Variance of Need Rejection Scores of M-A and A-A Groups

Source	df	MS	F	P
Ethnic (E)	1	172.8	16.9	<.005
ExA (Adjust. Level)	2	31.21	3.06	.05
Within (Error)	97	10.2		

Table 4

Summary of Analysis of Variance of Need Achievement Scores of M-A and A-A Groups

Source	df	MS	F	P
Ethnic (E)	1	53.4	4.00	<.05
Sex (Sx)	1	136.7	10.3	<.005
Within (Error)	97	13.2		

Table 5

Summary of Analysis of Variance of Need Affialiation Scores For the M-A and A-A Groups

Source	df	MS	F	P
Ethnic (E)	1	.2	1.0	
ExSx	1	78.7	5.08	<.05
Within (Error)	97	15.5		

Table 6

the Anglos. The significant F for grade (G) in the need Power data shows that junior high school students of both ethnic groups scored higher on this need than did the high school students. The F for the ethnic group (E) by adjustment level (A) interaction was also significant in the need Power data. This indicates that

Mexican-Americans of the low adjustment group showed the highest need Rejection, whereas need Rejection was the lowest in the low adjustment group of the Anglos. For needs Power, Achievement, and Affiliation the low adjustment groups always had a lower score than the high adjustment groups for both Mexican-Americans and Anglos. The mean adjustment groups were very variable.

Most of the predictions made for the male and female Mexican-Americans were substantiated by the results as is evident from the results contained in Tables 7 and 8.

Comparison of Mean Scores on Succorance, Female Power, Aggression Toward Female Authority Figures and Abasement Obtained by M-A and A-A males on the School Situations Picture Stories Test

	M-A		A-A				
Variable	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Diff.	t	P
Succorance	1.8	1.65	.3	.62	1.5	4.75	$<.001$
Female Power	2.53	.98	1.68	.90	.67	.86	n.s.
Aggression Toward Female Auth. Fig.	1.03	1.0	.17	.47	.86	4.30	$<.001$
Abasement	.77	.87	.63	.78	.06	.58	n.s.

Table 7

Comparison of Mean Scores on Invavoidance, Power Struggle with Males and Females and Autonomy (Rebelliousness) Obtained by M-A and A-A females on the School Situations Picture Stories Test

	M-A		A-A				
Variable	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Diff.	t	P
Power struggle with males	1.23	.36	1.90	1.12	.67	3.0	n.s.
Power struggle with females	1.07	1.0	1.87	.92	.80	1.8	n.s.
Autonomy (Rebelliousness	2.93	1.5	1.53	1.2	1.40	3.9	$<.01$
Infavoidance	.6	.61	.7	.57	.1		n.s.

Table 8

Mexican-American males gave significantly more stories to the SSPST cards involving themes of need Succorance ($t=4.75<.001$), and Aggression towards female authority figures ($t=4.30<.001$), than did Anglo males. Mexican-American male subjects also scored higher on female power and need Abasement, but the differences did not achieve statistical significance. Mexican-American females on the other hand scored higher than Anglo females on need Autonomy (rebelliousness towards authority) ($t=3.9<.01$) but did not give more stories involving themes of power struggles with males and females. Scores on Infavoidance were also very similar for the two groups of females.

Word Association Test:

The word association test data did not succeed in differentiating between the two ethnic groups as is evident from examination of Table 9. This was partly due to the fact that there was great variation in the performance of the subjects. Some gave one or

Comparison of Mean Unfavorable Responses Given by Mexican-Americans and Anglo-Americans to Stimulus Words of the Word Association Test

Mexican-American		Anglo-American		
Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Difference
3.25	11.8	3.12	9.3	.13

Table 9

two associations, others gave many. In addition, most of the associations given by members of both ethnic groups were neutral and thus did not represent either positive or negative feelings and expectations held by the subjects.

The most productive stimulus words in terms of eliciting favorable and unfavorable responses were man teacher, woman teacher, principal and school activities. Typical unfavorable associations given by Mexican-Americans to man teacher, woman teacher and principal were as follows: mean, no humor, does not understand, unfair and nags a lot. Unfavorable associations given to school activities were: unnecessary, stressed too much, too confining. It was also noted that Mexican-Americans used the response father and mother to the stimulus words man teacher, woman teacher and principal whereas these were never given by Anglos.

contrary to our hypothesis, the Mexican-American males did not give more unfavorable associations to the word woman teacher than did the other three subject sub-groups. Table 10 summarizes some of the data.

Favorable and Unfavorable Associations Given by Mexican-American and Anglos to Two Stimuli From the Word Association Test

	Man Teacher		Woman Teacher	
	Favorable	Unfavorable	Favorable	Unfavorable
M-A	9	5	10	5
	6	6	7	4
A-A	7	1	6	5
	13	5	14	6

Table 10

Cumulative Files:

The cumulative files on the subjects were not complete enough to make them amenable to statistical analysis. As well, as would be expected, the data was of a rather individualistic nature. However, a significant pattern appeared which shed light upon both the school life of Mexican-American children and upon the culture of schools in general.

Economic status and school adjustment were closely related. By comparing the cumulative files of both Anglo and Mexican-American subjects with a random sample of files of students from the middle class (as determined by residence) it was very obvious that class affiliation and adjustment in school are closely related. This supports our contention that schools are centered upon middle class values and that this makes adjustment problems for the poor.

The cumulative files also showed distinct differences between the problems experienced by Mexican-Americans and Anglos. There was a higher absenteeism rate for Mexican-Americans than for Anglos (although the rate was high for both groups). Mexican-Americans generally listed the cause of absence as due to family obligations, whereas Anglos gave illness as their excuse.

The school system, as reflected in notes on school and home visits in the files, has much more contact with the mother of the Mexican-American child than with both parents; whereas both

parents frequently appear in the data for the Anglo child. The extended, mother-centered, matrifocal family (i.e. absent father family) dominated discussions of Mexican-American homelife much more often than it did the Anglo students home-life. This is not particularly surprising in light of Oscar Lewis' studies of the poor in Mexico.

Mexican-American female subjects usually did well in school (in spite of a high rate of absences) until the seventh grade. They were described as cooperative, quiet, shy and obedient until this time. After the seventh grade they were described as noisy, uncooperative, surly and "boy crazy". This might be due to the role change from child to woman experienced at this age and the concomitant role problems anticipated in our study. As well, Mexican-American girls expressed a great deal of difficulty with physical education courses - particularly in "suiting out".

Mexican-American males generally came into trouble with the school system over rebellion against authority figures (i.e. "talking back" and "practical jokes.") They showed a disproportionate difficulty with physical education and suiting out.

Mexican-Americans consistantly scored lower than Anglos on all intelligence tests given. Indeed, to find a student in our sample whose I.Q. score was 100 or more was a rarity. This was to be expected, and is a demonstration of the fact that intelligence tests tend to reflect class and mastery of one's culture, as well as ability. This finding was in keeping with results of other research in I.Q. and ethnicity. (Guzman) Its importance in regards to the attitudes of school administrators and teachers and the creation of a negative self concept in the Mexican-American child's mind became obvious in our direct observation.

Direct Observation:

Here again, there was no attempt to treat statistically the material gained in this technique. Although the results are subjective, all seven investigators concurred in their independent findings. These findings in general supported our original hypothesis, and in addition provided materials not directly applicable to the main thesis of our study, but nevertheless of such importance in understanding the Mexican-American situation that it was decided to discuss them briefly here. The supportive data to the psychological testing will be presented in the general discussion.

A result of the multiple track system used in the school system and the ethnic bias of I.Q. testing has been the placement of Mexican-American students primarily in slow learner classes.

Informal conversations with Mexican-American students in these classes revealed that they considered themselves to be dumb and as a result were discouraged from trying to do better.

Although teachers and administrators generally stated a desire to help Mexican-Americans and claimed to like them, they also displayed an astonishing ignorance of their cultural background and problems. Invariably, teachers repeated cliches and bigoted platitudes to the effect that Mexican-Americans will not accept help, that they are lazy, over sexed, etc. In three different cases teachers showed open hostility, referring to their Mexican-American students as "Pancho Villas" and "greasers". In a P.E. class, the effect of being called "Hey Pancho" in a disciplinary situation resulted in sullen obedience on the part of the Mexican-American and derision from the Anglo students. One school official (not from the schools studied, but of a high position in a similar school in the district) proffered the opinion that "Negroes and Mexicans might as well get used to the fact that their skin color is naturally esthetically offensive to people and they cannot, therefore, expect people to like them. "This person is largely in charge of disciplinary actions and parental contact.

There was not one single counselor in the schools studied who could speak Spanish or had any special training in the nature of the Mexican-American sub-culture, yet we found seventeen students in our original sample who could not read, write, speak, or understand English. Others displayed considerable difficulty in the use of English. Many of the first, second and third generation Mexican-American parents could not understand English.

Listening to "counseling" sessions and talking with counselors demonstrated clearly that there is very little attempt made at helping students adjust in school. The major function of the counselor is that of disciplinarian. There was almost no constructive psychological counseling in evidence, and counselors professed no training in school problems in ethnic or social class; certainly their discussion and behavior indicated none.

As can be seen, the teacher/administrator situation puts real meaning in Mexican-American reactions to the attitude scale and word association tests when teacher, counselor and administrator responses were elicited.

CONCLUSIONS

Except for those problems arising from the nature of the faculty and school administration, most of the results we obtained can only be explained by a consideration of the value system of the Mexican-American. Their significantly higher need Power scores in the situational picture test data reflect the authoritarian aspect of Mexican culture in which interpersonal relations involve dominance on the part of one of the participants and submission on the part of the other. A previous study by Ramirez was able to show that Mexican-Americans score higher on the Authoritarianism Scale than do Anglos. It is interesting to note in this respect that many stories told by Mexican-Americans involved wrong doing and dissatisfaction with school on the part of the student because teachers and parents are too lenient. This is complicated, however, by the fact that Mexican-American females score higher on rebelliousness, but the data lead us to conclude that this is due to their dissatisfaction with the traditional role of the Mexican-American woman. The results of the Ramirez study had shown that one of the effects of Americanization on the Mexican-American culture was the increasing emancipation of the Mexican-American woman. However, there is a great deal of ambivalence here because while the more anglicized Mexican-Americans are encouraging emancipation, the more conservative and traditional are discouraging change. It seems that the Mexican-American females in our study have found a happy medium by rebelling -- that is saying "I don't like to be told what to do," but after making this show of resistance, agreeing to do it anyway. This theme is present in many of the Mexican-American female stories, which start out with the young girl rebelling against the mother or teacher, but ending with the quote "in the end she finds out that mother is always right".

Contrary to predictions made, the Mexican-American females did not show more power struggles with males and females than did Anglo-American females. On second thought, however, the prediction was a poor one because Anglo-American females are reinforced much more for struggling for power with both males and females.

It is likely that for the Mexican-American male, power conflicts will continue to be a very important factor in his life. His problems seem to be stemming from the fact that he must at times be powerful, masculine and assertive and at others be submissive and seek succorance (higher submissiveness scores were obtained by Mexican-American males than Anglo-American males). At the same time, however, he is quite resentful of the attempt of the female (personified by the mother) to control him and, thus, he responds with aggression toward female authority figures (more aggression toward female figures was expressed by Mexican-

Americans than Anglo-Americans). The results also show that Mexican-American males are more likely to perceive female figures as trying to control them. If one were to take all these results and attempt to make predictions concerning which sex of teacher the Mexican-American student would relate to the best, then the following statements would be made (tongue in cheek, of course).

Mexican-American males because of displacement of aggression will be more aggressive toward female teachers and particularly those who are authoritarian. If they get to feel comfortable they are likely to seek help from either male or female teachers. (high need Succorance) They will respect teachers who maintain control over the class, but are benevolent.

Mexican-American females are likely to be rebellious toward teachers expecially when they are given direct orders. Again, as do Mexican-American males, they seem to prefer teachers who understand their problems, but who are firm and encourage them to do their work. The high score on need Rejection obtained by the Mexican-American is further indicative of the negative attitudes they have toward education. They see the school and school personnel as rejecting them and they are more likely than the Anglo-Americans to reject the school system in turn.

Mexican-American students did express less positive attitudes toward the school situation and school personnel than did a comparable group of Anglo students. Our results, thus, are in line with those obtained by Demos. Some of the items which Demos found to be good discriminators between Mexican-Americans and Anglos did not differentiate between the ethnic groups in our study, but this is perhaps due to the fact that we used high school students in our sample whereas he did not.

A look at some of the items on the attitude scale which differentiated significantly between the two ethnic groups leads us to draw some interesting conclusions. Mexican-American students are experiencing more feelings of aggression than are Anglos. Items 27 and 42 testify to the fact that they are sensitive to insult and are ready to respond with physical aggression whenever their honor is threatened. In part, this is the "machismo" requirement made on the Mexican-American male by his sub-culture and the demand by the culture that the individual defend his honor, regardless of sex. (Madsen and Diaz Guerrero). The aggressiveness evident in the test data of the Mexican-American student may also be a product of the frustration and unhappiness which the student experiences at school. The frustration is evidenced from their agreement with items 61, 20 and 45 of the Attitude Scale. Their low scores on need Achievement, and high scores on need Rejection are further evidence. Mexican-Americans of the low adjustment group scored higher on need Rejection. The results of the test data, as

cumulative file information reveals that members of the low adjustment group are those most closely identified with the Mexican-American values. Although we cannot state with certainty that this strong identity has resulted in their marginal adjustment, a strong possibility does seem to exist. It is also interesting to note that the highest scores on need Rejection were obtained by the low adjustment Mexican-American sub-group, whereas the lowest score of all sub-groups was achieved by the low adjustment Anglo sub-group. This seems to indicate that Mexican-Americans of the low adjustment sub-group are much more likely to drop-out of school than are Anglos belonging to the same sub-group. The frustration felt by the student and the resultant aggression are further exemplified by the following story given to the situational pictures test by one of the Mexican-American students.

"A woman teacher and a student. The teacher has been scolding him because he can't do his work right. Student doesn't look like he cares. The teacher is sorry for him. She is probably thinking that he will drop out of school and be a bum. The kid is probably thinking that he doesn't need nobody. He will just quit school and get a job when he needs the money. He doens't realize that it won't be easy to get a job without a high school education. Sooner or later no one will have him, He will probably have to become a criminal in order to get money."

Other stories elicited by the pictures of the school situations test uncover evidence of value conflicts being experienced by Mexican-American students which may be important etiological factors contributing to their unfavorable attitudes towards education. The values of the Mexican-American culture and those of the school system seem to be in direct conflict, thus placing the Mexican-American student in the uncomfortable position of either assimilating conflicting values or choosing one set of values and rejecting the other.

The values of the Mexican-American culture which were found to be most often in conflict with the value system of the schools as well as some of the stories which give evidence of the conflict are listed below:

1. The Mexican-American culture teaches the adolescent to be loyal to his family group. This frequently results in subordination of the student's educational goals when the family is in need of help. Story: Picture portrays a father sitting at the table and a young Mexican-American boy leaving the house with books in hand,

"This boy and his father are very unhappy. The father just lost his job and he is worrying about what will happen to his family. The boy is sad also. He wants to continue in school because he is doing so well, but he knows he cannot abandon his family now that they need him most. He will drop

out of school and get a job. He cannot turn his back on his family when they are in need."

Picture shows an older woman talking to a Mexican-American female student:

"The teacher is angry with this student because she cannot keep her mind on her work. She also has not been doing her homework. The student has problems at home and cannot concentrate, but she feels it would be wrong to reveal family matters to the teacher. The family needs income and she is thinking of helping them out. As the years go by all her life she dreams of going back to school but she can't because she is too old."

Picture shows a Mexican-American boy with a rake and a college scene in the background:

"This is a man who was very poor when he was a boy. He didn't dress as well as the other kids. He hardly ever went to school because he had to try and help his parents out so that they could support the family. He is now a gardener at the college. He sees the well-to-do kids with a nice education. He wishes he would have had a good education.

These stories clearly point out that the Mexican-American child's loyalty to his family and his unwillingness to reveal family problems to non-relatives may create conflicts with teachers and administrators who come from Anglo middle class background where children are most often obligated to contribute to the family's finances.

2. The Mexican-American culture emphasizes the continued loyalty of its members to the group. All Mexican-Americans see themselves as united in a spiritual bond as members of La Raza (the race) and are obligated in varying degrees to contribute to the welfare of all the members. A person who becomes Anglicized and forgets the other members of his group is looked upon as a traitor. (The Mexican-American students in our sample agreed with this as is evident by their score on item 21, referring to speaking another language at school). This frequently places the Mexican-American student in conflict. He doesn't know if he should abandon his culture and accept the values of his school or vice versa.

Story: Picture shows a Mexican-American student sitting at a desk with an older woman teacher standing close by:

"This boy is being scolded by the teacher for speaking a language that wasn't English on the school grounds. The boy doesn't know what to do. He doesn't want to make the teacher

angry, but he also knows his friends are watching him and if he doesn't stand up for his rights and for his people they will call him a traitor. The teacher tells him not to do it again or she will send him to the principal. He continues to do it and is suspended for three days."

3. The Mexican-American parent sees himself as an educator in his home. Mother and father, thus consider learning experiences for the child in the home to be just as valuable as the education he receives at school. Children must be acquainted with their roles as men and women in the culture, because their behavior outside the home reflects on the family. Needless to say Anglo teachers and administrators are not aware of this. So that frequent misunderstandings between parents, students and teachers often occur.

Story: Card shows father sitting at a table and a Mexican-American girl with books in hand is walking in the door.

"Her father was waiting for her and he is disgusted because he wanted her home early and the girl came in late. She was supposed to take care of her little brothers and sisters and to do some housework. She tells him that she didn't finish her work and had to stay after school. He tells her that she must never forget the work she must do at home and that work at home is just as important as the work at school. From then on she always went home on time, no matter what."

4. The culture emphasizes "machismo" or maleness in the young boy. He learns that he must never run away from a fight or break a deal and he must defend his honor whenever it is insulted. The young male student's "machismo" is sometimes threatened by unsuspecting female teachers who are interested in maintaining their authority in the classroom at all costs.

Story: Card shows a Mexican-American boy sitting at a desk and an older woman teacher standing close by.

"The teacher caught this boy day dreaming in class. She asked him a question and now he can't answer. She takes him to the front of the room and goes over the lesson with him so everyone can see him. The boy feels very humiliated, he knows he must defend his honor as a man in front of his friends. He sasses the teacher back and she refers him to the principal."

"This is a science teacher and she is new in the school. This teacher is a grouchy lady and likes to find any little thing on a person to embarrass him and send him to the office. So this boy, his name is Rudy and he is a very nice boy, he does his work and gets the highest grades in school. The teacher is like a student teacher, she needs experience, but she acts like she knows it all. The boy answers all questions and she doesn't like it. It angers her. Right here she is telling him she is the teacher and not he.

So the boy apologizes and feels embarrassed. From then on he doesn't say anything in class. He just quits."

5. The culture teaches young women to be modest and not to display their bodies in public. This usually creates problems in gym class where students are required to wear shorts to classes and then take a shower with little or no privacy. Teachers often do not understand why Mexican-American girls refuse to attend gym and often attribute this to negativism and laziness.

Story: Card shows a young female teacher talking to a Mexican-American girl.

"The teacher is mad at the girl because she won't strip down for gym. The girl is unhappy because she cannot explain to the teacher that she feels embarrassed to take her clothes off in front of the others. The teacher becomes angry because the girl doesn't answer and she just looks down. She sends her to the principal."

6. Mexican-American parents especially those of low socio-economic class look upon education as helpful only if it involves some degree of job training. The Mexican-American child often comes to expect the same thing. (Further evidenced by the fact that most Mexican-American students were in agreement with item 43 which states that school should be realistic and prepare students for a job). This expectation is frequently not met by the schools who are usually more interested in preparing students for college. A goal that is unrealistic perhaps for many of these students in terms of their resources and life chances. The result is frustration and dissatisfaction for all concerned.

Story: Card shows a boy sitting at a desk staring at a book and some papers.

"This boy is angry and disgusted. He is not interested in school. He dreams of having a good job, but instead of learning this he had to do other things. He feels left out because he is not going to college. He feels the school doesn't care about him and what he wants. In the future he will drop out and look for a job, but since he doesn't have a high school education he will have a rough time of it."

7. The culture emphasizes a strict separation of the sex roles. The role of the male is established as the bread winner and the head of the family. The female provides the love and understanding which her children and husband will need. Her role is one of self-sacrifice and abnegation. The cultural values to which the Mexican-American school child is exposed in the school

challenge this view. The individual is then forced to make a difficult choice.

Story: Card shows a boy and a girl talking to each other.

"That is her boyfriend and they just left the coffee shop. It looks like they had a quarrel. Well, he wants her to marry him now and she wants to go to college and be a doctor. He got mad because he wants her to be his wife and the mother of his children. She looks like she will continue with school and just break off with him."

Story: Card shows a Mexican-American girl sitting at a desk and an older woman looking into the room.

"The mother was probably calling the daugher and she wouldn't come. The girl is doing her homework and didn't pay attention. Her mother is mad at the girl and the girl doesn't know what to do. She will give her a lecture about how important it is for a girl to learn to do housework instead of just reading books.

8. Mexican-American parents are frequently insulted by the business-like harsh tone frequently used by teachers to communicate with them when they visit the schools. This usually results in alienation and, thus, the school is seen as a negative rather than a positive institution.

Story: Picture shows a Mexican-American man and woman in a classroom.

"These parents are at school. They look sad and self-conscious. The teacher is talking to them about their child. She tells them their child is flunking and she is getting after them for not seeing to it that the child passed the course. So they go home and have a talk with the child but after being scolded by the teacher they are disgusted with the school."

The foregoing stories collected in our study, thus, shed considerable light on the etiology of negative attitudes toward education in Mexican-American students and parents. They show the Mexican-American student brings values with him to school which in many cases are in direct opposition to those of their teachers, counselors and principals. Not only must the bi-cultural student face conflicts at school, he also meets conflicts in the home when the values he learns at school are opposed by his parents. These students are, thus, continually faced with the ominous choice of conforming or quitting. This usually results in negative feelings toward the school which they come to see as the source of their frustration and ambivalence.

Unfavorable attitudes toward education as well as feelings of aggression due to frustration are but a few of the negative consequences resulting from value conflicts. Madsen, who has studied Mexican-Americans in South Texas, has concluded that there is considerable psychological stress involved in cultural transfer. He writes:

"Internalization of competing or conflicting values reduces the psychological security of the individual. There can be no doubt that an increase in the number of the culture's alternative values reduces the individual feeling of security within his society."

Dr. Vita Sommers of the Veterans Administration Clinic in Los Angeles has specialized in the psychological assesment and treatment of the bi-cultural man. Her findings lead her to conclude that dual cultural membership is one of the causes of "identity neurosis." Spindler's research with Menomini Indians who have been forced to acculturate too rapidly reveals disorders similar to those described by Sommers. Furthermore, he has found that many of these people have developed an extensive peyote cult to establish the identification which they seek.

"In all cases the individual is always without secure identification with any primary group and cannot identify with any set of symbols. The Peyote cult is attractive because it gives him a social body with which he can identify. It not only gives him personal security, but resolves for him the intense conflict he feels between the internalized compulsions of the old way of life and the values and modes of satisfaction in Western culture."

Professor Hallowell in his studies of the Ojibwa Indians at Lac de Flambeau has discovered that acculturation has lead them to a psychological impasse. The protocals of the psychological tests he administered to these Indians revealed that they were psychologically immature. In explanation of this data he states:

"These Indians have been thrown back on their psychological heels, as it were. They are attempting to survive in a situation which offers them no culturally defined values and goals that they can readily make their own, that have any vital psychological significance for them. Consequently, they lack the kind of cultural fulcrum which is necessary, it seems to me, for full psychological maturity and an optimum of mental health in any human society."

The bi-cultural individual faces so much anxiety, frustration and stress at having to make value choices so often under such

difficult conditions that he usually resolves the conflict by choosing one group (one set of values) and rejecting the other. Professor Irving Child who studied Italian-Americans in New Haven, Connecticut found that they usually reacted to the conflict in one of two ways:

1. The rebel reaction - this was characterized by the desire of the individual to establish himself as an American. The rebels usually attached American labels to themselves and tried to dissociate themselves from the labels of the Italian culture. The rebels, he found, paid a heavy price for their decision. For example, all of the rebels he interviewed admitted having conflicts with their parents. 2. The in-group-reaction these individuals demonstrated a tendency to strive for affiliation with Italians. They attached Italian labels to themselves and were overtly hostile to the symbols of the American group. The in-grouper paid a different price, but it was nevertheless heavy. Although they had a strong loyalty to the family group and their relationships with their parents were pleasant, they usually had difficulties relating to non-Italians. Madsen's study revealed a similar trend among the Mexican-Americans. He found that these people were divided into a conservative group which adhered to the traditional folk culture and had a complete lack of admiration for the Anglo ways and an Anglicized group that was trying to abandon the mother culture and emulate Anglo behavior. It seems obvious, then, that most bi-cultural individuals faced with severe conflicts find it necessary to either become Identifiers (remain loyal to their ethnic group and reject the Anglo ways) or Anglicized (accept the Anglo ways and reject their identification with their group). The feelings of ambivalence and psychological discomfort felt by the individual in value conflict is best exemplified by the following story given by one of the Mexican-American students:

"He is a student. He probably has problems in his studies and he is trying to figure out a problem. He has problems in something else too that he is trying to figure out. Seems as if he is caged in. Trying to find a way to escape. He feels as if he is on trial. As though two different worlds are pushing him. In one sense society is trying to push him, in another it is trying to pull him back. It seems like society is too far advanced for him to figure it out. He can't cope with his own problems and needs someone to guide him."

Other stories indicate that acculturation is leading to discord between Mexican-American adolescents and their parents:

"This picture shows a father and a boy. Seems like they just can't get along with each other. Seems as though the boy

is walking out into life and just has no confidence in his parents. Father feels like he has failed somewhere, but doesn't know just how."

"She's a mother worried about her son. It seems like they are in two different worlds. They can't reach each other."

It is well to remember that Mexican-American students and especially those of the lower class will in general be well identified with many of the Mexican-American values. Before they begin their school careers they will already have achieved an identity within the Mexican-American group. This identity cannot be destroyed without there being negative consequences for the individual and others in his milieu.

Measures which could be instituted by schools to alleviate these conflicts are outlined in the recommendations.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. There is need to establish more effective lines of communication between parents and school personnel, otherwise we will continue to have both groups working against each other, and the adolescent caught between the demands of both. Schools with large Mexican-American populations should hire Mexican-American personnel who speak Spanish and are aware of both Anglo and Mexican-American values, and respect these values, otherwise, conflicts will continue with the Mexican-American student suffering the consequences.

2. The low scores on need Achievement obtained by Mexican-Americans emphasize the differences which exist in the cultures of the two ethnic groups. The Mexican-American child learns to operate on a reinforcement system which is far different from that of the Anglo middle class. The Anglo school, then, does not meet the expectations of these children and is ineffective in motivating him. Experimental classrooms in which reinforcers, incentives, and method of administering these is tailored to the needs of the Mexican-American child should be established.

3. An attempt must be made to eliminate "barrio" schools. Observations made by the authors have led them to conclude that "barrio" schools are conducive to power struggles between school personnel on one hand and students and parents on the other. Both groups are out to acculturate the other and the result is that both become alienated and become more dogmatic about their value systems. Elimination of defacto segregation in an atmosphere of acceptance of cultural diversity does not force the bicultural student to take one extreme route or the other, but to accept both.

4. The purposes and approaches to school counseling should be revised extensively and counselors given training for their job with the ethnically different. Counseling programs for the bi-cultural student geared to help him anticipate those value conflicts which are inevitable should be instituted in our schools. The more understanding a student achieves about his problems, the better he will be able to cope with the conflict and stress when it arises.

It will be necessary, then, to establish an accepting, helpful environment which will aid the bi-cultural student to achieve an identification within two cultures. In this manner he can select the best of both without having to reject one or the other.

Other recommendations:

5. The Mexican-American student is affected a great deal by his family and any program which will attempt to improve his adjustment to school must make some provision for involving the parents. The Mexican-American student cannot be considered as an entity separate from his family. The data in this direction is so overwhelming that the authors are quite sure that unless attempts are made to involve the parents, no programs aimed at improving the academic achievement of the Mexican-American student will be very successful. Help from parents in school work as well as making conditions at home more conducive to study will be necessary. Story after story collected from Mexican-American students revealed that they would become motivated to perform only when their parents agreed with the goals of the schools. Perhaps they need to see these two opposing worlds come together, before they experience a lessening of the conflict which they feel. Once parents and teachers come together and accept each other, the student doesn't feel as if he is forced to choose one over the other.

6. Mexican-American students seem to respond best to teachers who maintain authority in the classroom, but who at the same time are concerned enough to help them and to encourage their parents to become interested in education. They see the ideal solution as that which involves cooperation between teachers and parents to encourage students to do better.

7. Mexican-American students should have more of a voice in the setting up of school activities. Many of them feel that present activities do not reflect their interests as evidenced by results of the word association test.

8. Conflict between Mexican-American students with other ethnic groups which have flared up in the past will continue to occur unless students become aware of value differences in their classmates and are encouraged to respect their values. Lectures, assigned readings in social science classes and group discussions led by counselors should be instituted. Schools should encourage ethnic clubs in which the bi-cultural student can find some identity and at the same time dissiminate information about his values to the other students.

9. Materials should be included in the curriculum which reflect the life situations of the lower class and poor.

10. In addition, materials on Mexican-Americans used in the classroom should reflect ethnic reality, not paint a picture of a quaint Ramona, a peon or a "Pancho Villa."

11. Finally, the school system should make a conserted attempt to remove biggoted teachers and administrators from contact with ethnic minorities. It is difficult for students to work under people who feel that they are inferior.

FOOTNOTES

1. Indeed, the authors feel that discrimination against Mexican-Americans is a factor of equal importance to education practices in explaining the Mexican-American's failure in school. It is hard for the child to succeed when the teacher expects him to fail.

2. Mittlebach and Marshall are using the U.S. Census classification when they classify people with Spanish surnames as belonging to a racial group - white. This is, of course, innacurate. Latin American culture is composed of practically every race on the earth. There is a predominately oriental cast to Mexicans, but there are many Mexican Negroes and Mexican Caucasians. With equal rationale the U.S. Census could list all people with Anglo Saxon surnames as white.

3. We are particularly grateful to the Sacramento City Unified School District for making the statistical information necessary for selecting subjects available.

4. We wish to express our gratitude to Professor George Demos of Long Beach State College for permission to use and reproduce intems from his "Drop Out Scale".

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APPENDIX

Analysis of Variance and Group Mean Scores
of Need Rejection Data on the SSPST

Source	SS	MS	F	P
Ethnic Group (E)	172.8	172.8	16.9	< .005
Sex (Sx)	.1	.1	1.0	
Grade (G)	1.2	1.2	1.0	
Adjustment Level (A)	57.1	28.6	2.8	
Ex Sx	26.1	26.1	2.6	
Ex G	26.0	26.0	2.6	
E x A	73.9	36.95	3.6	< .05
Sx x G	10.7	10.7	1.04	
Sx x A	.4	.2	1.0	
G x A	50.7	25.35	2.5	
E x G x A	55.3	27.65	2.7	
E x Sx x G	13.8	13.8	1.0	
E x Sx x A	.7	.35	1.0	
Sx x G x A	17.8	8.9	1.0	
E x Sx x G x A	60.2	30.1	2.95	
Within Treatments:				
Error	990.0	10.2		
Total	1556.8			

Condition	N	M
Mexican-American	60	5.1
Males	30	4.6
Females	30	5.6
High School	30	4.5
Junior High	30	5.7
High Adj.	20	5.0
Med. Adj.	20	3.7
Low Adj.	20	6.3
Anglo American	60	2.7
Males	30	3.1
Females	30	2.3
High School	30	2.3
Junior High	30	3.9
High Adj.	20	3.1
Med. Adj.	20	2.2
Low Adj.	20	2.1

Analysis of Variance and Group Mean Scores
of Need Affiliation Data on the SSPST

Source	SS	MS	F	P
Ethnic Group (E)	.2	.2		
Sex (Sx)	22.6	22.6	1.5	
Grade (G)	24.4	24.4	1.6	
Adjustment Level (A)	169.0	84.5	5.45	<.01
E x Sx	78.7	78.7	3.61	
E x G	22.3	22.3	1.4	
E x A	28.0	14.0	1.0	
Sx x G	13.1	13.1	1.0	
Sx x A	70.6	35.3	2.28	
G x A	66.0	33.0	2.13	
E x G x A	37.5	18.8	1.21	
E x Sx x G	9.8	9.8	1.0	
E x Sx x A	63.5	31.8	2.05	
Sx x G x A	110.3	55.15	3.56	<.05
E x Sx x G x A	24.4	12.2	1.0	
Within Treatments:				
Error	1500.4	15.5		
Total	2262.0			

Condition	N	M
Mexican-American	60	3.6
Males	30	3.3
Females	30	3.8
High School	30	3.6
Junior High	30	4.5
High Adj.	20	3.5
Med. Adj.	20	2.1
Low Adj.	20	4.1
Anglo-American	60	3.5
Males	30	4.6
Females	30	2.4
High School	30	2.6
Junior High	30	4.3
High Adj.	20	5.5
Med. Adj.	20	2.2
Low Adj.	20	2.8

Analysis of Variance and Group Mean Scores
of Need Power Data on SSPST

Source	SS	MS	F	P
Ethnic Group (E)	119.9	119.9	4.02	<.05
Sex (Sx)	1.5	1.5		
Grade (G)	333.3	333.3	11.30	<.01
Adjustment Level (A)	12.6	6.3		
E x Sx	2.3	2.3		
E x G	.9	.9		
E x A	34.6	17.3		
Sx x G	6.6	6.6		
Sx x A	55.2	27.6		
G x A	70.8	35.4	1.2	
E x G x A	113.4	56.7	1.92	
E x Sx X G	17.7	17.7		
E x Sx x A	201.6	100.8	3.42	<.05
Sx x G x A	105.5	52.75	1.79	
E x Sx x G x A	35.3	17.65		
Within Treatment:				
Error	2863.1	29.5		
Total	3974.3			

Condition	N	M
Mexican-American	60	11.2
males	30	11.1
Females	30	11.2
High School	30	9.6
Junior High	30	12.7
High Adj.	20	12.2
Med. Adj.	20	10.2
Low Adj.	20	11.1
Anglo-American	60	8.1
Males	30	9.4
Females	30	8.9
High School	30	7.4
Junior High	30	10.9
High Adj.	20	9.0
Med. Adj.	20	9.6
Low Adj.	20	8.9

Analysis of Variance and Group Mean Scores
of Need Achievement Data on SSPST

Source	SS	MS	F	P
Ethnic Group (E)	53.4	53.4	4.00	$<.05$
Sex (Sx)	136.6	136.6	10.35	$<.01$
Grade (G)	2.7	2.7		
Adjustment Level (A)	160.3	80.15	6.07	$<.01$
E x Sx	6.4	6.4		
E x A	48.2	24.1	1.83	
Sx x G	5.5	5.5		
Sx x A	28.4	14.2	1.08	
G x A	12.1	6.05		
E x G x A	7.4	3.7		
E x Sx x G	12.4	12.4		
E x Sx x A	8.6	4.3		
Sx x G x A	41.9	20.95	1.59	
E x Sx x G x A	1.5	.75		
E x G	61.6	61.6	4.67	$<.01$
Within Treatment: Error	1280.9	13.2		
Total	1867.9			

Condition	N	M
Mexican-American	60	2.9
Male	30	3.7
Female	30	2.1
High School	30	3.43
Junior High	30	2.30
High Adj.	20	3.7
Med. Adj.	20	2.4
Low Adj.	20	2.3
Anglo-American	60	4.2
Male	30	5.5
Female	30	2.9
High School	30	3.3
Junior High	30	5.1
High Adj.	20	6.5
Med. Adj.	20	3.9
Low Adj.	20	2.3